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How to prepare national plans

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I am very pleased to have the opportunity to share with you some thoughts on the improvement of China's planning system and its preparation methods. It has been 26 years since I started working at the National Development and Reform Commission in 1989. Except for the six years during which I served as Director of the Department of Finance and Finance, I have been engaged in planning work for the past 20 years. Today's introduction is also a summary of my colleagues and I's years of work and thinking, and I would like to share it with you.

Improving the national planning system is one of the reforms decided at the Third Plenary Session of the 18th Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, and is also an inevitable requirement for improving the socialist market economic system. In China's current institutional environment, planning is one of the tools for implementing national macro-control, which is different from what we have learned in mainstream economics textbooks in the past. The macro management tools discussed in economics textbooks are not like national planning, but planning is indeed a tool under the Chinese system. Some people may ask, since we are engaged in a market economy, why do we need planning? In fact, this is not unique to China. The United States, a typical representative of market economy countries, actually has its own plans for government departments. Many departments have annual or even multi-year strategic plans, and these strategic plans are closely related to the functions of the departments, and even in There is a strong budget guarantee for planning and implementation measures. From this perspective, the role and function of certain plans of the U.S. government departments are even stronger than some of the plans prepared by many of our current departments. Therefore, it can be said that market economy countries actually have plans.

Today's introduction is divided into three parts. The first is an introduction to the planning concept; the second is the planning concept; the third is the "multiple regulations into one" pilot reform.

First, let’s introduce the concept of planning. The planning we talk about is different from what Westerners understand. When Americans talk about planning, they think more of spatial planning, such as urban planning and spatial planning. For us, how much we plan has to do with past plans. Therefore, our definition of planning is the planning, deployment or arrangement of the future development of the planning object in time and space, including the two dimensions of time and space. To prepare a plan, you must first determine the planning objects. How to determine planning objects is closely related to the system. Under the conditions of a complete market economy, plans will generally not be drawn up for those competitive areas, in which the market will play a decisive role in resource allocation. Since it plays a decisive role, there is no need to rely on planning to guide or influence resource allocation. However, under China's current system, there are many competitive fields that also have government plans, such as industrial development plans for the automobile industry, petrochemical industry, electric power industry, etc. Whether such planning objects need to be planned depends on changes in the management system. The considerable relationship is also closely related to the government's policy approach to promoting industrial development. Under the new institutional conditions, our opinion is that there should be no or as few plans as possible in competitive fields. Even if there is a plan, the function of the plan is only to provide some anticipatory guidance and provide information reference for independent decision-making by market entities or enterprises. .

What kind of organization can prepare plans? In the past, everyone understood that planning should be compiled by the government. With the reform of government agencies, in addition to government agencies formulating plans, some industry associations are also formulating plans. There are certain differences in effectiveness and functions between the plans compiled by industry associations and those compiled by the government, but the plans compiled by them also have influence and effect. What I will introduce today is mainly the system and methods of government planning.

How to prepare a plan, there are three issues that need to be introduced in advance:

First, planning is not just a time rhythm arrangement. In the past, it was believed that planning should do something in a certain period. For example, from 2002 to 2015, we would arrange key projects and time rhythms in the planning field, or to what extent it should be achieved. It is different now. The current planning involves more arrangement and layout of some spaces. If the transportation network is planned, how the routes are laid out must fall into space. The national new urbanization plan we completed last year has a spatial pattern, which basically determines the main distribution of the country's future urbanized areas. Our planning must not only meet the requirements of time, but also be at the mercy of space. There is another good example, such as the planning of nuclear power and where the nuclear power plants should be laid out. There are many considerations here. To consider safety issues, nuclear power projects cannot be placed in particularly densely populated areas, and should not be placed in inland areas as much as possible, because if problems occur in inland areas, the nuclear radiation hazards will be much greater than in coastal areas. Therefore, China's

nuclear power layout so far has been along the coast, and its spatial arrangement has many technical safety considerations.

There are also some plans that do not necessarily strictly stipulate what goals should be achieved by when. For example, the national main functional area planning analyzes my country's 9.6 million square kilometers according to the resource and environmental carrying capacity to determine the development intensity of certain areas and clarifies the development models of different main functional areas. For areas with relatively weak resource carrying capacity, the development content is restricted or even only used as ecological functional areas. This kind of spatial pattern planning does not have strict time arrangements and is effective for a long time. The same is true for some transportation network plans. Once determined, it cannot be changed in a few years. It must always be based on this network plan.

Second, planning is not just directive and anticipatory. In the past, there was a concept that under the market economy system, planning should be strategic or macroscopic and guiding. But in fact, under the market economy system, the requirements for planning different goals and different contents are also different. Some plans are instructive, while others are restrictive. Once the strategic plan of the United States is supported by a budget, it is binding and must achieve this goal. There are also strict performance evaluations every year.

During China's planned economy period, planning targets must be completed and are mandatory. After the reform and opening up, we changed some practices. For a period of time, we had the rather extreme idea of making planning completely guiding. However, we later found that this understanding was not enough. China's five-year plans and annual plans for national economic and social development are all approved by the People's Congress. According to foreign systems, everything voted by the parliament has a legal nature and should be binding to a certain extent. The "Eleventh Five-Year Plan" classified some indicators and goals in the five-year plan for the first time. Most of them are still anticipatory indicators, but for some indicators related to government public services and public responsibilities, energy conservation and environmental protection, determined as binding indicators. For this binding indicator, the government must use various means to achieve it. This approach still makes sense.

Third, planning not only promotes growth, but also constrains or even manages growth behavior in a sense. In the past, when supplies were particularly scarce, most plans were aimed at promoting growth and development and were mainly incentive-based. As periods like these pass, our understanding of development and growth changes. We found that some binding things should also be included in the plan, because some binding contents and requirements are for longer-term, more coordinated, and more comprehensive growth.

Here I quote a passage from the book Local Government Planning Practice in the United States, which states that “Planning must not only cultivate and promote growth, but also manage growth.” “Planning must control the balance so that economic growth, infrastructure, resources, environment, "Public services and population should be distributed in a balanced manner." "Excessive economic growth will put pressure on resources, the environment, and

infrastructure, and will also lead to a decline in the quality of life." These statements illustrate that our planning is not just about promoting growth, but we will increasingly have multiple goals.

2. Planning function

In different economic systems, the functions of planning are different. Planning under the planned economy system is mandatory, while most plans under the market economy system, especially in competitive fields, are mainly directive. The five-year plan for national economic and social development is, on the whole, a strategic and macro-level plan and is guiding, but it contains some binding content. Different planning objects have different planning functions. Planning in some industrial fields must be leadership and guidance. However, some spatial plans, such as urban planning and land planning, have red lines. This type of planning is completely binding. This planning function is different from planning in competitive fields.

Under the socialist market economic system, planning should have the function of promoting the realization of national strategic goals, making up for market failures, equitably allocating public resources, and promoting comprehensive, coordinated and sustainable development.

First, national planning is the action plan for the whole society. Planning gathers social consensus within a certain scope and to a certain extent, so planning is also a platform for gathering social consensus. In particular, these plans voted by the people's congresses at all levels are plans that have reached consensus in the whole society from a legal perspective. Law is also a platform for gathering social consensus. If what is voted for by the parliament is treated as law, our five-year plan will also have this nature. Since social consensus has been gathered, it should become a common action plan for the society. If we agree that this should be done ideologically, it will be easier to ensure action.

Second, planning is the basis for the government to perform its duties. The modern economy is not a pure market economy. When we study microeconomics, there are many abstract definitions of perfectly competitive markets and market economies, which are theoretical abstractions. In actual operation, any market economy country is not entirely a theoretically abstract market economy, and there is some management and intervention by the government. When the government intervenes in economic activities, it should first intervene in accordance with the law, so we talk about governance in accordance with the law. The same goes for governing the country according to the law and managing the economy. In the past, planning mostly relied on brainstorming, which may or may not be scientific and was arbitrary. If there is rigorous analysis and in-depth research before patting the head, it may be more scientific. Otherwise, it may be unscientific. Formulating and implementing plans in accordance with the law can, to a certain extent, ensure that government intervention will not occur randomly. Since the plan is formulated by the government, the government must implement it in accordance with the plan. The plan also restricts the government's hands and feet to a certain extent.

Third, planning is the second criterion that governs social behavior. In a market economy, resources are allocated by the market. Citizens, legal persons and other organizations have full autonomy and decision-making power. However, certain behaviors of citizens, legal persons and other organizations are not entirely conducive to public interests and sometimes harm public interests. Such damaging behavior can be restricted through planning. Through the preparation and implementation of plans, various social entities can also be told what the government wants everyone to do during the planning period, where to do these things, and how to do these things. This is equivalent to showing the government's intentions to the whole society through planning. Therefore, planning is regarded as a second criterion in a sense, a supplement to legal policies, and a code of conduct that society needs to follow. Of course, not all plans have this function, only some plans with binding content have this effect.

3. The composition of the planning system.

In terms of levels, the planning system includes national-level planning, provincial-level planning, and city- and county-level planning, which are prepared by governments at different levels. Distinguished by type, it is mainly divided into two categories: one is development planning and the other is spatial planning. Development planning includes overall economic and social development planning, special planning, and regional planning. Spatial planning includes main functional area planning, city and county spatial development planning, land use planning, and urban planning. These are all plans with spatial constraints.

From the perspective of overall planning, it is mainly a plan prepared with the national economy and social development as its objectives. This plan is a grand blueprint prepared based on central deployment and serves as a guide for the preparation of other plans. The preparation of the overall plan has a constitutional basis in China, and the Constitution has statutory provisions on the five-year plan.

The main functional area plan is a strategic, basic and binding plan based on land space. It is the basic basis for other types of planning in terms of spatial development and layout.

Special planning targets specific areas and is an extension and refinement of the overall plan in specific areas. It is also a plan that supports the implementation of the overall plan. Regional planning is a development plan prepared for a specific regional space. China has urban agglomeration planning, which is also a kind of regional planning with a spatial nature, but it mainly refers to development content. There is also spatial planning at the city and county level, including town planning and township planning, which are plans involving spatial constraints at the city and county level. There is also an urban planning system. Each city has its own master plan and urban system planning, which all fall under the category of spatial planning.

From the perspective of development planning preparation, the content of our plan mainly includes four aspects: first, we must have a reasonable, objective, and thorough environmental analysis; second, we must have advanced planning concepts; third, we must have reliable

planning goals; fourth, we must have There must be clear construction tasks; fifth, there must be effective implementation safeguards.

From the perspective of environmental analysis, when making any plan, we must first analyze the environmental changes during the planning period. This is an important prerequisite for us to propose planning principles, goals and task measures. The main contents of environmental analysis include development stage, institutional background, favorable and unfavorable factors, and other special environmental analysis determined according to planning objects. We are now studying China's 13th Five-Year Plan, which requires a comprehensive analysis of the international and domestic environment.

What is the general trend of the international environment now? It is the general trend after the financial crisis, which is different from the general trend of globalization before the crisis. The international energy and political landscape is changing, and some systems of globalization are also changing, which will have a major impact on China's future development. China's economy is highly open and has formed a pattern with the global economy in which you are among us and you are among us. In-depth analysis of the international environment is a necessary prerequisite for us to formulate plans.

From the domestic environment, we have entered the "new normal". The main feature of the new normal is that past comparative advantages have changed and traditional comparative advantages are weakening. If we want to maintain medium-to-high growth, we must form new competitive advantages and form a system and mechanism that is conducive to innovation-driven, transformation and upgrading. This is the new change we will face in our future development under the new normal conditions. The analysis and grasp of such an environment are crucial to the preparation of plans.

Second, we must have advanced planning concepts. Concept is the soul of planning. Concept is mainly reflected in guiding ideology, development policy and guiding principles.

Third, there must be feasible planning goals. We are now compiling the "Thirteenth Five-Year Plan", with the goal of building a moderately prosperous society by 2020. Development content must be allocated according to this goal, and we must focus on the difficulties in achieving this goal to find the focus of the "13th Five-Year Plan" development. There is also a problem orientation. Through environmental analysis, we can find out where the most important problems and difficulties will be faced by economic and social development in the future. We have to solve these problems. Solving the problems is a goal in itself, so problem orientation and goal orientation are connected.

When setting goals, you should stick to the theme and be feasible. At the same time, it is necessary to divide the functions of different goals, which goals are binding and which goals are expected. There must be both temporal goals and spatial goals. Not all goals can be expressed quantitatively. Some goals are described qualitatively and cannot be statistically quantified with specific indicators.

Fourth, there must be clear construction tasks, which is a way and starting point to achieve planning goals. During this planning period, what kind of landmark projects, projects and initiatives should be used to support the identified goals and priorities? This is what the planning will do.

Fifth, there must be effective implementation safeguards, which are the guarantee for achieving planning goals and completing planning tasks. For example, the main functional zone strategy proposes optimized development zones, prohibited development zones, restricted development zones and key development zones. The functional patterns of these four major types of development zones are different. Without special policies and differentiated policy support, it will be difficult to achieve. Key ecological functional areas in the main functional areas can enjoy special transfer payments from the central government. As an ecological functional zone, it provides an ecological product for the national ecological improvement and imposes certain restrictions on its own development behavior. Therefore, transfer payment compensation for it is conducive to the functions of key ecological functional zones.

5. Program of preparation steps.

I think programming is more important than planning itself. The preparation of our five-year plan starts from the mid-term evaluation of the previous plan, to preliminary research, draft preparation, plan connection, extensive solicitation of opinions, approval, and public release.

I have always believed that procedures and rationality in planning are more important than results. The planning preparation process is a process of forming a consensus. If the procedures are properly arranged and there are very extensive and profound discussions on the policy issues for the development of the plan in the next five or even ten years, once a consensus is formed, it does not matter whether there is a plan or not. Because everyone has reached a consensus on these issues, they will act in this direction. If there is a lack of extensive and in-depth discussions and lack of interaction from top to bottom, left and right, it will be difficult to reach a consensus. Even if the plan comes out, no one will follow the direction and goals.

The first step in the process is the mid-term assessment. We started doing mid-term evaluations during the Tenth Five-Year Plan and discovered many problems through neutral evaluations. There are both issues of poor implementation and the need to change the development philosophy, which requires improvements in response to the issues raised by the mid-term evaluation. The mid-term evaluation is an important basis for preparing the next new five-year plan.

When we compile a new five-year plan, we often need to do a lot of preliminary research, which covers a wide range of fields. For example, when we are currently compiling the 13th Five-Year Plan, we have conducted more than 80 special studies since the second half of the year before last. These more than 80 special topics are research topics that have been established in important areas for development in the next five years. We select research institutions through public bidding, and also commission institutions to conduct research. At the same time, we also pay attention to diversity in the selection of research institutions,

including not only domestic but also foreign research institutions, such as inviting the OECD and the Asian Development Bank to do research, and also inviting the famous American consulting firm McKinsey to conduct research on the impact of technological changes in the future world on China. Development Impact Doing Research. We have also invited some influential domestic companies, such as Alibaba to do research on the information economy, Hang Seng Bank to do research on financial system reform, and Fosun Group to do research on the health industry. Research by different subjects will put forward different conceptions of the same problem from different angles, which is particularly beneficial for us to expand our horizons and absorb a wide range of different viewpoints. At the same time, we have also conducted special research on major projects, major policies, and major projects, the so-called "three majors". These are some of the basic contents to be covered in the next five-year plan.

After the preliminary research, we enter the draft preparation stage, which is also the most important stage in completing the plan. Although different plans have different contents, any plan must have a good expression form. Our draft preparation is mainly about the expression of words, and the expression of words should also pursue rich language expressions and reduce slogan-like, flashy or lack of scientific language. At the same time, there must also be some expressions of data and charts. In particular, spatial changes must be supported by charts. Different expressions are meaningful for people to better understand planning.

Fourth, planning connection. After any plan, especially a plan in a specialized field, is compiled, it must be connected with other plans. Grassroots plans must also be connected with plans at the higher level. Interconnection can reduce conflicts between planning objectives and content caused by planning from different departments and different levels, which is very important. Planning connection is mainly about connecting goals and policy orientations, and spatial structure must also be connected. In the past, when each province's main functional area plan was compiled, each province's main functional area plan had to be connected with the national main functional area plan, and also with neighboring provinces. Many things that require a unified national layout, especially those that require investments arranged by the central government, such as the development of infrastructure and strategic resources, must also be connected. If there is no connection, the goal you propose may be ambitious, but the existing resources do not support you to achieve this goal, and the plan will be in vain. Of course, there is also the connection between policy means. Different policies cannot fight or even offset each other.

Fifth, listen to opinions. The ways and methods of listening to opinions are becoming more and more diverse. It is necessary to listen to the opinions of various departments of the central government, the opinions of various provinces, and the opinions of experts. In the past, there was a special advisory committee for the preparation of five-year plans. The members of the advisory committee were composed of experts in different fields. After the draft plan was produced, the expert advisory committee was invited to conduct special deliberation and provide opinions. Many famous domestic scholars and experts have been our planning consulting experts. Nowadays, the means of listening to public opinions are more advanced than in the past. We have cooperated with Tencent to launch a WeChat platform for

suggestions for the 13th Five-Year Plan. The public can directly provide suggestions for the 13th Five-Year Plan through the WeChat platform.

Finally, there is review and approval. Planning approval is relatively complex, and different planning approval entities are different. For example, the five-year plan for national economic and social development is called the overall plan. The preparation unit is the State Council, and the approval authority is the National People's Congress. Although many national-level special plans are also national plans, they are mainly prepared by departments under the State Council and are reviewed and approved by the State Council or departments authorized by the State Council. National-level regional plans are generally reviewed and approved by the State Council, and a small number are reviewed and approved by the establishment departments themselves. Provincial-level main functional area planning is prepared and approved by the provincial-level people's government.

There are indeed some problems with the current planning approval. There are no legal provisions on how to determine which plans should be reviewed and approved by the National People's Congress, which should be reviewed and approved by the State Council, and which should be reviewed and approved by State Council departments. For example, which national-level special plans should be reviewed and approved by the State Council are currently mainly coordinated by the National Development and Reform Commission and submitted to the State Council to form a planning plan. The State Council reviews and approves these plans based on this plan, and departments also prepare plans based on this plan. This approach is artificial to a certain extent and is not legal.

The last step is public release. Our five-year plan and all plans should be released to the public. In a planned economic system, plans are internal documents and are not disclosed to the outside world, and are even confidential. Planning requires social subjects to implement it. To guide social subjects to implement it, of course we need to let them know. Now after the plan is announced, some social entities will ask you to come up with a formal official text. Therefore, many plans are now published through publishing houses, and more and more plans are posted on portals through electronic texts. Current technical means help us better publish these plans.

Every plan must be implemented. Under the conditions of market economy, we must innovate the implementation mechanism of plans according to different functions of different plans. Oriented planning is mainly implemented by the independent behavior of market entities, but the government is not completely inactive. The government can create some incentive mechanisms for a good market environment to allow enterprises to play a more active role. Some important economic tasks of development planning mainly rely on market mechanisms to play a role, and the government promotes implementation through institutional mechanisms and improved policy means. As for the content of public services, once the plan is clear, it is the government's own business and the government's commitment. The government must use public resources, including some policy means, to complete it. The binding indicators

of planning are mainly implemented through the government's public resource allocation and policies, which require both economic and administrative means.

Some reform tasks are themselves the responsibility of the government. Once the reform tasks are clear, the government must do everything possible to promote them. The reform document issued by the Third Plenary Session of the 18th Central Committee of the Communist Party of China is actually the timetable and roadmap for China's reform until 2020. It requires each person to be responsible for the implementation and clarify the specific time and progress for completion. Our five-year plan will also be implemented on a rolling basis through annual plans. These mechanisms are useful for the implementation of the plan.

We advocate that in a system where the market plays a decisive role in resource allocation, there should be no or as few special plans as possible in competitive areas.

Second, planning must have a global perspective. In the context of globalization, we must fully consider both international and domestic markets and resources, and we cannot prepare plans with a closed mind. Although we emphasize food security, we cannot say that all food and agricultural products must be solved by ourselves. China is a country with scarce arable land and does not have a comparative advantage in agricultural production. It can use international trade to import some agricultural products to make up for the lack of domestic agricultural resource endowments. At present, in order to ensure the red line of 1.8 billion acres of cultivated land, we have implemented a very strict cultivated land protection system and construction land plan, which has restricted the development of urban and non-agricultural industries. Our import of agricultural products from abroad is equivalent to utilizing 600-700 million acres of foreign land, which accordingly reduces the pressure to occupy cultivated land. Under the conditions of extremely limited resource and environmental capacity, we can appropriately import some high-energy-consuming products and resource-intensive products, because China's resource and environmental constraints are more serious than other countries.

Third, distinguish the division of powers. When formulating special plans, it should be the responsibility of the government at the corresponding level, not all areas and every level. We do not require every province to compile an automobile industry plan, otherwise there will inevitably be a situation of overcapacity and overcapacity everywhere. Plans in specialized areas must be compiled from the perspective of national interests, rather than just using departmental awareness. Special planning objects must be clear, key points must be highlighted, and operability must be strong, and overlaps and conflicts with other plans must be avoided.

From the perspective of changes in planning concepts:

One is to shift from being purely material-oriented in the past to being people-oriented. In the era of planned economy with product shortages, plans were formulated with the goal of promoting the production of various products. Nowadays, people's needs are becoming more and more diverse. Our planning not only meets the public's material needs, but also meets the public's increasing demand for public goods and spiritual products. The scope of planning is

gradually expanding. While developing the economy, we will continue to expand the supply of public services, including compulsory education, public health and basic medical care. Society's demand for ecological products and ecological environment, clean air, green environment, and clean water are all higher-quality needs. The spiritual aspect includes cultural entertainment and even religious beliefs.

The second is to transform from the simple pursuit of growth in the past to scientific development. In the past, development was a hard truth, mainly referring to maintaining economic growth and emphasizing quadrupling it. Although doubling is still the growth target, we have expanded the connotation of development and have used the Scientific Outlook on Development to guide planning preparation since the 11th Five-Year Plan. The 18th National Congress of the Communist Party of China proposed the goal of building a moderately prosperous society in an all-round way, which includes the five-in-one goal of economy, society, culture, politics, and ecology. These are all the results of changes in development concepts.

The third is to develop from a tilted focus in the past to a more comprehensive, coordinated and sustainable development. In the past, when we compiled plans, we always emphasized a certain region or industry as a key target. We once focused on coastal areas to let some people get rich first. At a certain stage, we began to pursue coordinated regional development, such as the development of the western region, the rise of the central region, and the revitalization of the old industrial bases in the northeastern region. This was mainly for the purpose of being more comprehensive and coordinated.

An overall and coordinated approach should be used to solve problems such as unbalanced economic and social development, unbalanced material and spiritual issues, and unbalanced rural and urban development. Regarding the issue of spatial balance, population and economic agglomeration must be coordinated with the resource and environmental carrying capacity of a region, otherwise it will lead to resource and environmental deterioration and ecological degradation. For example, water-scarce areas such as North China and Northwest China have to achieve a balance between water supply and demand through water transfer because they carry too much economy and population and overexploit groundwater. In terms of balancing the spatial structure, there must be functional divisions of space, ranging from urban space and rural space to small production, living and ecological spaces, including commercial and residential spaces. Some of the different functions are integrated with each other, and some need to be completely isolated, such as the dangerous goods storage area and the chemical industry park, which must be isolated from the living functional areas.

We should pay more attention to economic benefits than to ecological benefits. Economic development must not only follow economic laws, but also respect natural laws. In the past, the emphasis was on changing nature through development, but in the future, we will have to adapt more to nature. In the past, we only wanted to transfer water on a large scale. Why can't we consider the flow of population? It may be a more reasonable choice for the population to flow to areas with abundant water resources and strong resource and environmental carrying capacity, and the free movement of the population should be allowed. We once hoped that

some resource-exhausted cities in the Northeast could support their original population size through industrial structural transformation, but these were not particularly successful and a lot of resources were spent. In the United States, when resources are exhausted and industries decline in some places, the cities that were originally formed will also decline and people will move away. The local natural environment will slowly recover, and some will simply be protected. If you reflect on traditional practices with new ideas, you may be able to find new ways to solve these problems. Now there are media reports that the Northeast is experiencing an outflow of people. Is this a good thing or a bad thing? If more working people leave, the local economy will decline. But overall, we should allow the population to have the freedom to choose their place of residence and the freedom to choose their career. China's current household registration system not only creates separation between urban and rural areas, but also creates separation between regions.

In the past, we emphasized ex-post protection, but in the future we should pay more attention to ex-ante protection. In the past, ecological construction was emphasized, but in the future, ecological restoration may be more important. We pursued defeating floods in the past, but we must treat floods well in the future. In the past, it was emphasized that people advance and the sand recedes; in the future, the sand will retreat as people retreat. In the past, above-ground reservoirs were built, but in the future underground reservoirs will be built. Engels said, "We should not be overly intoxicated with human beings' victory over nature. For every such victory, nature takes revenge on us." The meaning of this passage is that we should not be keen on undertaking projects to change nature. You have the ability to change nature, but nature is likely to ruthlessly retaliate against us in a few years. Some people are now paying attention to the ecological impact of the Three Gorges Project and the South-to-North Water Diversion Project, mainly out of concerns that they may see some negative things many years later.

6. From domestic balance to global perspective. When planning the production capacity of an industry, we cannot look at the balance of supply and demand from the perspective of a closed market. We must also look at the affordability of the domestic resource environment and use a global perspective to face the challenges brought by global industrial layout and industrial chain construction.

7. From simply promoting growth to managing growth. The so-called management of growth means paying attention to the negative externalities brought about by growth and restraining the growth of negative externalities. Although the growth of energy-intensive industries also brings economic value, negative externalities may make you lose more than you gain, so you must be restrained. When ecological products have value, the behavior that destroys such products has negative value and must be restricted.

The planning concept is dynamically changing, making the planning content gradually change from simply promoting growth in the past to comprehensive, coordinated and sustainable development. From promoting the production of a certain product in a certain field in the past, to finally achieving comprehensive and balanced management. This change balances the

benefits and costs of various growth behaviors and development behaviors, and is a new concept.

Finally, let’s briefly introduce the “multiple regulations into one” reform. We now have a planning system, which includes not only economic and social development planning, special planning in different fields, but also spatial planning such as urban planning, land planning, and regional planning. There are overlaps, overlaps, and conflicts between plans. Through research, we feel that at the city and county level, firstly, there is no need to prepare so many plans; secondly, it is entirely possible to achieve the integration of multiple plans through the mutual integration or merger of plans. Therefore, starting from the "11th Five-Year Plan", we have selected six places across the country to try to integrate municipal and county plans, and prepare plans that integrate economic and social development, urban system layout, spatial control and other contents. The planning integration is based on the national The economic and social development plan is the basis. This attempt is beneficial to improving the economic and social development planning of cities and counties. There is a basis for integrating multiple regulations into one at the city and county level.

What exactly should be combined into one and how to make it legal? This is the problem we are facing now. Led by the National Development and Reform Commission, the Ministry of Land and Resources, the Ministry of Housing and Construction, the Ministry of Environmental Protection and other departments did not have a consistent idea when forming a multi-regulation integration plan. The Department of Land and Resources wants to use land planning as the blueprint to integrate multiple plans into one. The Ministry of Housing and Urban-Rural Development wants to use urban planning as the blueprint. We advocate taking the economic and social development plan as the blueprint and integrating land and urban and rural planning to make the content of economic and social development more substantial. , more comprehensive. The Ministry of Environmental Protection basically accepts our ideas. In the end, three different pilot plans were formed. After the pilot, we will summarize and evaluate which plan is more suitable for the multi-regulatory integration reform under the Chinese system.

What are the obstacles encountered in the process of "multiple regulations into one" reform? In terms of space, first of all, there are differences in technical standards and spatial scale. The Ministry of Land and Resources has a set of scale standards, and the Ministry of Housing and Urban-Rural Development has a set of standards for urban and rural planning, which creates differences and problems when planning spatial zoning. Therefore, "multiple plans into one" must be unified at least in terms of technical standards and spatial scale division.

Some barriers are also institutional. For example, our economic and social development plans are generally based on five years, or look ahead to ten years. The planning period is different from spatial plans such as urban planning and land planning. Since the planning periods are different, it is difficult to combine them. The deadlines for many plans for economic and social development cannot be too long. If it is too long, it may not be possible. However,

the regulations and constraints of space can last for many years, and once they are constrained, they will not change easily. My opinion is that the economic and social development plan is mainly five-year, but the content involving space can be longer-term.

Another problem is that the review and approval entities are different. City and county economic development plans are reviewed and approved by the People's Congress at the same level, but urban planning or land planning is reviewed and approved by the government at the next higher level. For example, county land planning is reviewed and approved by higher-level cities or even provincial governments. After "multiple regulations are integrated into one", who should review and approve the plan? Is it better to have approval from the people's congress and government at the same level, or from the government at the next higher level? These issues are technical and institutional issues that need to be faced to promote the integration of multiple regulations into one pilot, and some require modification of existing laws. Although it is difficult, it is still worth doing. Combining various scattered plans in a county into one plan based on the "unification of multiple plans into one", in the words of General Secretary Xi, is a blueprint that can be implemented to the end, which can reduce planning resources and costs. Many counties now spend tens of millions on planning, but the final planning efficiency is not high and there is a lot of waste.

“Multiple regulations into one” not only saves planning funds, but can also promote municipal and county reform agencies. After the "unification of multiple regulations into one", there is no need to set up a development and reform bureau, planning bureau and land and resources bureau at the county level. These departments can be integrated into one department to implement a true large-scale department system. I think the field managed by grassroots governments is not that complicated and does not require so many departments. "Multiple regulations into one" will have a stimulating effect on the next step of the reform of grassroots government administrative agencies, so it is worth trying.

The above are our experiences and thoughts on past work. They are immature and may not be correct. They are for your reference and criticism.

thank you all.

Original Speech:

https://web.archive.org/web/20230909223724/http:/www.50forum.org.cn/home/article/detail/id/629.html

长安讲坛 -> 2015年长安讲坛

演讲者：徐林 论坛特邀专家、国家发改委发展规划司司长　　　　时间：2015-06-18　　　　阅读：35227次

非常高兴有机会和各位交流对中国规划体制及其编制方法改进的一些思考。我从1989年开始在发改委工作到现在已经26年时间，除了中间有6年在财政金融司任司长外，20年都在干规划工作。今天的介绍也是对我和我同事多年工作和思考的一个总结，在此与大家分享。

完善国家规划体系，是党的十八届三中全会决定的改革内容之一，也是完善社会主义市场经济体制的一个必然要求。在中国目前制度环境下，规划是实施国家宏观调控的工具之一，这和我们过去在主流经济学教科书里所学的内容不太一样。经济学教科书讲的宏观管理的工具，并没有像国家规划之类的东西，但是在中国体制下规划确实是一种工具。有人会问，既然是搞市场经济，为什么还要规划？其实这并不是中国的独创，市场经济国家的典型代表美国，其实也有政府部门自己的规划，很多部门都有一年一度甚至几年的战略规划，且这些战略规划和部门的职能密切相关，甚至在规划实施措施上有强有力的预算保障。从这个角度看，美国政府部门某些规划的作用和功能，比我们现在很多部门编制的一些规划在功能上甚至更强。因此可以说，市场经济国家其实也有规划。

今天的介绍分三个部分，一是介绍规划概念；二是规划理念；三是“多规合一”试点改革。

首先介绍一下规划的概念。我们讲的规划和西方人理解的不太一样。美国人谈规划，想到更多的是空间性规划，比如城市规划和空间规划。对我们来说，规划多少与过去的计划有一定的关系。所以我们对规划的定义，是对规划对象未来发展在时间和空间上的谋划部署或安排，包括时间和空间两个纬度。编规划首先要确定规划对象。如何确定规划对象，与体制有密切关系。在完全市场经济条件下，一般不会对那些竞争性领域编制规划，那些领域主要由市场对资源配置起决定性作用。既然是决定性的作用，就没有必要靠规划去引导或者去影响资源配置。但在中国目前体制下，有很多竞争性领域也有政府的规划，比如说有汽车产业、石油化工、电力产业等的产业发展规划，像这样的规划对象到底要不要编规划，与管理体制变化有相当大的关系，与政府促进产业发展的政策方式也密切相关。在新的体制条件下，我们的主张是竞争性领域应该尽可能不编或少编规划，即便要编规划，规划的功能也只是提供一些预期性导向，为市场主体或企业自主决策提供信息参考。

什么样的机构可以编规划？过去大家理解规划应该是由政府来编。随着政府机构的改革，现在除了政府机构编规划，一些行业协会也在编规划。行业协会编的规划和政府编的规划在效力和功能上有一定差异，但他们编的规划也有影响和作用。我今天介绍的主要是政府编制规划的体制和方法。

如何编制规划，有三个问题要事先介绍一下：

第一，规划不仅是一种时间节奏的安排。过去认为，规划在一定时期做些什么事情，比如在2002年到2015年期间，我们来安排规划领域重点项目和时间节奏，或者是应该做到什么程度。现在则有所不同，现在的规划更多涉及到一些空间的安排和布局。假如交通网络的规划，路线怎么布局必须要落到空间上。去年我们完成的国家新型城镇化规划就有个空间格局，基本决定了国家未来城市化地区的主要分布。我们的规划不光要有时间的要求，同时也要有空间的摆布。还有一个很好的例子，比如对核电的规划，核电站到底应该在什么地方布局，这里的讲究非常多。要考虑安全问题，核电项目不能放在人口特别密集的地方，尽可能不放到内陆地区，因为在内陆地区一旦出现问题带来的核辐射危害比放在沿海地区大得多。所以中国对核电的布局到目前为止都是在沿海，它的空间安排很多技术性安全性考虑。

还有一些规划，它不一定非常严格规定在什么时间达到什么样的目标。比如国家主体功能区规划，对我国960万平方公里按照资源环境承载力的分析，来确定某些区域的开发强度，明确不同主体功能区的开发模式。对资源承载力比较弱的地区，规定限制开发内容甚至只作为生态功能区，这种空间格局的规划在时间上没有严格的安排，在很长时间内都是有效的。有些交通网络规划也是如此，一旦确定下来，就不能过几年就变了，要一直按这张网络规划图干下去。

第二、规划不仅仅是指导性和预期性的。过去有一种观念认为，在市场经济体制下，规划应该具有战略性或者宏观性、指导性。但实际上在市场经济体制下，规划不同的目标、不同的内容的要求也是不一样的。有些规划是指导性的，有些规划则是约束性的。美国的战略规划一旦有预算支撑就具有约束性，必须达到这个目标，而且每年都有绩效评估，很严格。

中国在计划经济时期，规划指标是必须完成的，具有指令性。改革开放之后我们改变了一些做法，曾经有一段时间有比较极端的想法，就是让规划完全是指导性的，但是后来发现这样的认识是不够的。中国的国民经济和社会发展五年规划和年度计划，都是人民代表大会投票通过的。按照国外体制，议会投票通过的东西都带有法律性质，应该具有一定约束性。“十一五”规划，首次对五年规划中的一些指标和目标进行了分类，大部分仍然是预期性的指标，但是对一些涉及到政府公共服务和公共职责，涉及节能、环保的指标，确定为约束性指标。对这种约束性指标，政府要通过各种手段来实现。这种做法还是有道理的。

第三，规划不仅仅是促进增长的，同时在某种意义上也要约束甚至管理增长行为。在过去物资特别短缺的时期，大多数规划都是以促进增长、促进发展为目标，主要是激励性的。随着这样的时期过去后，我们对发展和增长的认识出现一些改变。我们发现一些约束性的东西也应该作为规划的内容，因为某些约束性内容和要求，是为了更加长期、更加协调、更加全面的增长。

这里我引用一段话，美国的地方政府规划实践一书里提到，“规划既要培育和促进增长，同时也要管理增长”，“规划要驾驭平衡，使经济增长、基础设施、资源环境、公共服务、人口相互均衡分布”，“过

快过度的经济增长，会给资源环境、基础设施带来压力，同时会导致生活质量的下降”。这些表述说明，我们的规划不仅仅只以促进增长为唯一目标，我们会越来越多的多重目标。

二.规划功能

在不同经济体制下，规划的功能是不一样的。计划经济体制下的规划带有强制性，而市场经济体制下大多数的规划，特别是竞争性领域主要是指导性。国民经济社会发展五年规划，整体上是战略性、宏观性的规划，是指导性的，但是里面有一些约束性的内容。不同的规划对象，规划功能也是不同的。一些产业领域的规划，一定是领导性、指导性的。但是一些空间性的规划，比如说城市规划、土地规划都有红线，这种规划完全是约束性的，这种规划功能和竞争性领域的规划是不同的。

在社会主义市场经济体制下，规划应该具有促进国家战略目标实现，弥补市场失灵，公平配置公共资源，促进全面发展、协调发展和可持续发展的功能。

第一，国家规划是全社会的行动纲领。规划在一定的范围、一定程度上凝聚了社会共识，所以规划也是凝聚社会共识的平台。特别是各级人民代表大会投票通过的这些规划，从法理上讲是全社会形成共识的规划。法律也是凝聚社会共识的平台，如果把议会投票通过的东西作为法律来对待，我们的五年规划也带有这种性质。既然凝聚了社会共识，就应该成为社会共同的行动纲领，思想上一致认为应该这样做，行动上就更容易得到保障。

第二，规划是政府履行职责的依据。现代经济并不是纯粹的市场经济。我们学微观经济学，对完全竞争市场和市场经济的定义有很多抽象，这是理论上的抽象。在实际运作中，任何一个市场经济国家，都不完全是理论上抽象的那种市场经济，都有政府的一些管理和干预。政府对经济活动的干预，首先应该依法干预，所以我们讲要依法治理，依法治国，管理经济也一样。过去搞计划，大多靠拍脑袋，可能拍科学也可能不科学，有随意性。如果在拍脑袋之前有严密的分析，有深入的研究，可能拍的比较科学，反之就可能不科学。依法制定和实施规划，可以在某种程度上保障政府干预不会乱来。既然规划是政府制定的，政府就要依照这个规划来实施，规划在一定程度上也是约束政府手脚的。

第三，规划是约束社会行为的第二准则。市场经济的资源由市场配置，公民、法人和其它组织有充分的自主权、决策权，但公民、法人和其它组织的某些行为不完全有利于公共利益，有时会损害公共利益。对这样的损害行为可以通过规划来进行约束。通过编制、实施规划，还可以告诉各类社会主体，在规划期内政府希望大家做什么事情，在哪儿做这些事情，怎么做这些事情，等于把政府的意图通过规划向全社会展现出来。所以，规划在某种意义上被视为第二准则，是对法律政策的补充，也是社会需要遵循的行为准则。当然，并不是所有的规划都具有这种功能，只是某些具有约束性内容的规划具有这样的作用。

三.规划体系的构成。

规划体系按层级来看，有国家级规划、省级规划和市、县级规划，分别由不同层级的政府来编制。按类型区分，主要分为两大类：一类是发展规划，一类是空间规划。发展规划包括经济社会发展总体规划、专项规划、区域规划。空间规划包括主体功能区规划、市、县空间发展规划、土地利用规划、城市规划，这些都是带有空间约束性的规划。

从总体规划来看，主要是以国民经济和社会发展为对象编制的规划。这个规划是根据中央部署编制的宏伟蓝图，对其它规划的编制具有指导作用。总体规划的编制，在中国具有宪法依据，宪法对五年规划有法定条文。

主体功能区规划，是以国土空间为对象编制的战略性、基础性、约束性规划，是其它各类规划在空间开发和布局方面的基本依据。

专项规划以特定领域为对象编制规划，是总体规划在特定领域的延伸和细化，也是支撑总体规划实施的规划。区域规划是以特定区域空间为对象编制的发展规划。中国有城市群规划，也是是一种区域规划，带有空间性质，但是更多是指发展的内容。还有市县一级的空间规划，有城镇规划、乡镇规划，属于市县一级涉及到空间约束的规划。另外还有城市规划体系，每个城市有自己的总体规划，有城镇体系规划，都属于空间规划范畴。

从发展规划编制来看，我们规划的内容主要包括四个方面：一是要有合理、客观、透彻的环境分析；二是要有先进的规划理念；三是要有可靠的规划目标；四是要有明确的建设任务；五是要有有效的实施保障措施。

从环境分析来看，做任何一个规划，首先要对规划期内的环境变化进行分析，这是我们提出规划原则目标和任务措施很重要的前提。环境分析的主要内容，包括发展阶段、体制背景、有利和不利因素，以及其它根据规划对象所确定的特殊环境分析。我们现在正在研究中国的第十三个五年规划，这个五年规划要对国际、国内的环境进行全面的分析。

现在国际环境是一种什么大势呢？是金融危机之后的大势，那种大势跟危机前全球化的大势是不同的。国际能源、政治格局在发生变化，全球化的一些制度也在发生变化，对中国未来发展有重大影响。中国经济高度开放，已经和全球经济形成了你中有我，我中有你的格局，对国际环境的深度分析，是我们制定规划的必要前提。

从国内环境看，我们已经进入“新常态”。新常态的主要特征是过去的比较优势发生了变化，传统比较优势在弱化。要想保持中高速增长，必须形成新的竞争优势，形成有利于创新驱动、转型升级的体制机制，这是新常态条件下，我们未来发展面临的新变化。对这样一种环境的分析和把握，对规划的编制至关重要。

第二，要有先进的规划理念。理念是规划的灵魂，理念主要体现于指导思想、发展方针、指导原则。

第三，要有可行的规划目标。我们现在编“十三五”规划，目标是到2020年要建成小康社会，发展的内容必须按这个目标去配备，要围绕实现这个目标的难点找“十三五”发展的重点。还有一种是问题导向，通过环境分析，发现未来一段时间经济社会发展面临最主要的问题在哪里，难点在哪里，我们要去解决这些问题，解决问题本身就是一个目标，所以问题导向和目标导向是相通的。

确定目标的时候要紧扣主题，要可行。同时要对不同的目标进行功能划分，哪些目标是约束性的，哪些目标是预期性的，既要有时间性目标，也要有空间性目标。不是所有的目标都可以用定量来表达，有些目标是定性的描述，不能拿具体指标统计量化。

第四，要有明确的建设任务，这是实现规划目标的一个途径和抓手。在这个规划期内，确定的目标和重点，要通过什么样的标志性的工程、项目和举措来支撑，这是规划要做的。

第五，要有有效的实施保障措施，这是实现规划目标和完成规划任务的保障。比如主体功能区战略提出优化开发区、禁止开发区、限制开发区和重点开发区，这四大类开发区的功能格局是不一样的。如果没有特殊的政策，没有差异化的政策做支撑，就很难实现。主体功能区中的重点生态功能地区，可以享受到中央财政特殊的转移支付。作为一个生态功能区，它对全国的生态改善提供一种生态产品，对自己的发展行为做了某种限制，因此对它进行转移支付的补偿，有利于重点生态功能区行功能。

五.编制步骤的程序。

我觉得编制程序比规划本身更重要。我们的五年规划编制，从上一个规划中期评估开始，到前期研究、编制草案、规划衔接、广泛听取意见，批准，公开发布，要走这样一个程序。

我一直认为，规划编制的程序和理性重于结果。规划编制过程是一个形成共识的过程，如果程序的安排合理，对编制规划未来五年甚至十年发展的政策问题，有非常广泛深刻的讨论，一旦形成共识，规划有没有都不重要。因为大家已经对这些问题形成了共识，就会按照这个方向去做。如果缺乏广泛深入研讨，缺乏上下左右的互动，就恶难以形成共识，规划即便是出来了，也没有人按方向和目标去做。

程序第一个步骤是中期评估。我们从“十五计划”开始做中期评估，通过中性评估发现了很多问题。既有实施不力的问题，也有发展理念需要改变的问题，这就需要针对中期评估提出的问题进行改进。中期评估是编制下一个新的五年规划很重要的基础。

我们在编新的五年规划时，往往要做很多前期研究，这些前期研究涉及的领域非常广泛。比如现在编“十三五”规划，从前年下半年开始就做了80多个专题研究，这80多个专题是对未来五年发展重要领域确立的研究课题。我们通过公开招标的方式选取研究机构，也通过委托方式让机构来研究。同时我

们也在研究机构的选取上注意多样性，不光有国内的还有国外的研究机构，比如请OECD、亚洲开发银行来做研究，也请美国著名咨询公司麦肯锡对未来世界技术变革对中国的发展影响做研究。我们还请一些国内有影响的企业，比如请阿里巴巴做信息经济的研究，请恒生银行做金融体系改革的研究，复星集团做大健康产业的研究。不同主体的研究，会从不同角度对同一问题提出不同的构想，对我们扩展视野，广泛吸取不同的观点特别有好处。同时我们还对重大项目、重大政策、重大工程即所谓“三个重大”也进行了专门的研究，这些都是未来五年规划所要涉及的一些基本的内容。

前期研究之后，就进入编制草案阶段，这也是完成规划最重要的阶段。不同的规划虽然内容不同，但是任何一个规划都要有一个好的表达形式。我们的草案编制主要是文字的表达，文字的表达也要追求丰富的语言表达方式，减少口号式、华而不实或者是缺乏科学性的语言。同时，也要有一些数据、图表的表达，特别是空间性的变化一定要有图来支撑。不同的表达方式对人们更好理解规划具有意义。

第四，规划衔接。任何一个规划，特别是专门领域的规划编出来以后，一定要去和别的规划衔接，基层的规还要和上一级的规划进行衔接。相互衔接能减少出自不同部门、不同层级的规划所导致的规划目标和内容之间的矛盾，这一点非常重要。规划衔接主要是衔接目标和政策取向，空间结构上也要进行衔接。过去编每个省主体功能区规划时，每个省的主体功能区规划都要和全国主体功能区规划衔接，还要和乡邻省进行衔接。很多需要国家统一布局的，特别是需要中央政府安排投资的，像基础设施、战略资源的开发等，也必须进行衔接。如果不衔接，你提出的目标可能很宏伟，但现有资源不支撑你实现这个目标，规划等于白编。当然还有政策手段之间的衔接，不同政策之间不能打架甚至相互抵消。

第五，听取意见。听取意见的方式、方法越来越多样化。要听取中央各部门意见、各个省的意见，还要听取专家的意见。过去编制五年规划都有专门的咨询委员会，咨询委员会的成员是由不同领域的专家组成，规划草案拿出来之后，都要请专家咨询委员会进行专门的审议，由他们提出意见。国内很多著名学者和专家都曾经是我们的规划咨询专家。现在听取公众意见的手段比过去更先进了，我们与腾讯合作，开通了“十三五”规划建言微信平台，公众可以通过微信平台直接给十三五规划提建议。

最后是审议批准。规划的审批比较复杂，不同的规划审批主体不一样。比如国民经济社会发展五年规划，我们叫总体规划，编制单位是国务院，审批机关是全国人大。很多国家级专项规划，虽然也属于全国性规划，但主要由国务院组成部门编制，由国务院或者国务院授权的部门自行审批。国家级区域规划一般由国务院审批，少量由编制部门自己审批。省级主体功能区规划是是省级人民政府编制并审批。

目前的规划审批确实存在一些问题。如何确定哪些规划应该由全国人大审批，哪些由国务院审批，哪些由国务院部门审批，没有法律规定。比如国家级专项规划哪些应该由国务院审批，目前主要由

国家发改委协调后报国务院形成一个规划编制的预案，国务院按照这个预案来审批这些规划，部门也按照这个预案编制规划。这这种做法具有一定的人为性，不是法定的。

最后一个环节就是公开发布，我们的五年规划和所有规划都应该对外公布。在计划经济体制，规划属于内部文件，不对外公布，甚至是机密。规划需要社会主体来执行，要引导社会主体执行，当然要让他们知道。现在规划公布之后，有些社会主体会要求你拿出正式的官方文本。因此，现在很多规划都通过出版社出版，越来越多通过电子文本在门户网站上登出。现在的技术手段有利于我们更好地把这些规划发布出去。

任何一个规划都是要实施的。在市场经济条件下，我们要根据不同规划不同的功能创新规划的实施机制。导向型的规划，主要靠市场主体的自主行为实施，但政府也不是完全无所作为，政府可以通过创造一些好的市场环境的激励机制，让企业发挥更加积极能动的作用。发展规划的一些重要经济任务，主要靠市场机制发挥作用，政府通过体制机制的，完善政策手段来推动实施。对于公共服务的内容，一旦规划明确了，就是政府自己的事，就是政府的承诺，政府必须动用公共资源，包括一些政策手段全力来完成。规划的约束性指标，主要通过政府的公共资源配置和政策来实施，既要有经济手段也要有行政手段。

一些改革任务本身就是政府的职责。一旦改革任务明确下来，政府必须千方百计去推动。十八届三中全会出台的改革文件，实际上就是到2020年中国改革的时间表和路线图，要求每个落实到具体负责人，明确完成的具体时间进度。我们的五年规划还要通过年度计划滚动实施，这些机制对规划的实施完成都是有用的。

我们主张，在市场发挥对资源配置决定性作用的体制下，竞争性领域尽可能不编或者少编专项规划。

二是规划要有全球视野。在全球化背景下，我们必须充分考虑国际、国内两个市场和两种资源，不能以封闭的思维编制规划。虽然我们强调粮食安全，但是不能说所有的粮食和农产品都要靠自己解决。中国是一个耕地稀缺的国家，在农业生产方面不具备比较优势，可以利用国际贸易进口一些农产品，来弥补国内农业资源禀赋的不足。目前我们为了确保十八亿亩耕地红线，实行了非常严格的耕地保护制度和建设用地计划，对城市和非农产业发展形成了制约。我们从国外进口农产品，相当于利用了国外6-7亿亩的土地，相应的减轻了占用耕地的压力。在资源环境容量特别有限的条件下，我们可以适当进口一些高耗能产品和资源密集型产品，因为中国的资源和环境约束比别的国家更严重。

第三，区分事权划分。在编制专项规划时，要做本级政府的事权，不是所有领域每一个层面都要编制规划。我们不要求每个省都要编汽车产业规划，否则必然出现遍地开花、产能过剩的局面。要从国家利益的高度来编专门领域的规划，而不能只用部门意识来编制规划，专项规划对象要明确，重点要突出，操作性要强，要避免与其它规划的交叉重叠和矛盾。

从规划理念的变化来看：

一是从过去单纯的以物为本开始转到以人为本。在产品短缺的计划经济时代，都是以推动各类产品生产为目标编制规划。现在老百姓的需求越来越多样化，我们的规划不只是满足公众对物质的需求，还要满足公众越来越多的对公共产品和精神产品的需求，规划的领域正在逐步拓展。在发展经济的同时，不断扩大公共服务供给，包括义务教育、公共卫生和基本医疗等等。社会对生态产品、生态环境的需求，清洁的空气、绿化的环境、干净的水，这些都是更高质量的需求。在精神方面包括文化娱乐，甚至包括宗教信仰。

二是从过去简单的追求增长转变为科学发展。过去讲发展是硬道理，主要是指保持经济的增长，要强调翻两番。现在翻番虽然还是增长目标，但我们扩展了发展的内涵，从“十一五”开始用科学发展观来指导规划编制。党的十八大提出全面建设小康社会的目标，就是包括经济、社会、文化、政治、生态五位一体的目标了，这些都是发展理念的变化带来的结果。

三是从过去倾斜式的重点发展到更加全面、协调和可持续发展。过去我们编规划，总会强调某个地区或某个产业作为重点倾斜对象，我们曾经把沿海地区作为重点，让一部分人先富起来。到了一定阶段又开始追求区域协调发展，搞西部大开发、中部崛起和东北地区老工业基地振兴等，这主要是为了更全面和更协调。

要用统筹协调的思路，来解决经济社会发展不平衡、物质和精神不平衡、农村和城市发展不平衡等问题。在空间均衡问题上，人口和经济聚集要和一个地区的资源环境承载力协调，否则就会带来资源环境的恶化和生态退化。比如华北地区、西北地区等缺水地区，因为承载过多的经济和人口，过度超采地下水，不得不通过调水实现水的供求平衡。在空间结构的均衡上，要有对空间的功能分区，从大到城市空间、农村空间，小到生产、生活、生态空间，包括商住空间等不同的功能分区。不同功能有的是相互融合的，有些是要完全隔离的，如危险品存放区和化工园区，必须与生活功能区隔离。

要注重经济效益到注重生态效益。发展经济不仅要遵从经济规律，也要尊重自然规律。过去强调通过发展改变自然，今后则要更多顺应自然。过去我们只想大规模调水，为什么不能考虑人口的流动呢？人口向具有丰富水资源和资源环境承载能力较强的地区流动，可能是更合理的选择，应当允许人口自由流动。我们曾经希望东北一些资源枯竭型城市通过产业结构转换来支撑原来的人口规模，但都不是特别成功，也花了不少资源。在美国，一些地方资源枯竭了、产业衰退了，原来形成的城市也就衰退了，人也迁走了，当地自然环境也会慢慢恢复，有的干脆就保护起来。对传统做法用新的理念来进行反思，没准儿能找出新的办法解决这些问题。现在有媒体报道，东北的人口正在外流，究竟是好事还是坏事？劳动人口走多了，当地经济就会有所衰退。但总体来看，我们应该允许人口有自由选择居住地的自由、择业的自由。中国目前的户籍制度，不仅造成城乡分隔，在区域之间也造成了分隔。

过去强调事后保护，今后要更注重事前的保护。过去强调生态建设，今后可能更多要生态修复。过去追求战胜洪水，今后要善待洪水。过去强调人进沙退，今后是人退沙也退。过去是建地上水库，今后要建地下水库。恩格斯讲过，“我们不要过分陶醉于人类对自然界的胜利，对于每一次这样的胜利，自然界都对我们进行报复”。这段话的含义就是，我们不应热衷于搞改变自然的工程，你有能力改变自然，但是自然很可能在若干年后对我们进行无情报复。现在有人关注三峡工程和南水北调工程的生态影响，主要是出于这样的担忧，多年之后可能会看到一些负面的东西。

六.从国内的均衡到全球视野。规划一个产业的产能，不能从封闭市场来看供需平衡，还要从国内资源环境可承受，用全球化视野，来面对全球化产业布局和产业链构建带来的挑战。

七.从简单的促进增长到管理增长。所谓管理增长，就是要关注增长带来的负的外部性，要约束负的外部性的增长。高耗能产业的增长虽然也带来经济价值，但是负面外部性可能使你得不偿失，所以要有所约束。当生态产品具有价值，破坏这种产品的行为就是负价值，必须约束。

规划理念是动态变化的，使规划内容由过去简单的促进增长，逐步向全面、协调、可持续发展方向转变。从过去推进某个领域某个产品的生产，到最后实现全面的均衡管理。这种变化平衡了各种增长行为和发展行为的收益和代价，是一种新的理念。

最后简单介绍一下“多规合一”改革。我们现在是规划体系，既包括经济社会发展的规划、不同领域的专项规划，也有城市规划、国土规划、区域规划等空间性规划。规划相互之间内容有交叉、有重叠、有矛盾。通过调研我们感觉，在市县层面，一是没有必要编这么多规划；二是完全可以通过规划的相互融合或合并，实现多规合一。所以，从“十一五”规划开始，我们在全国选择六个地方搞市、县多规融合尝试，编制经济社会发展、城镇体系布局、空间管制等内容融为一体的规划，规划融合以国民经济社会发展规划为底本。这种尝试对完善市县经济社会发展规划有好处。在市县层面做多规合一具有基础。

多规合一到底要合什么，怎么个合法，这是我们现在面临的问题。由国家发改委牵头，国土资源部、住房建设部、环境保护部等部门在形成多规合一方案时，没有一致的想法。国土资源部门要以国土规划为蓝本搞多规合一，住建部希望以城市规划蓝本，我们则主张以经济社会发展规划为蓝本，把国土和城乡规划融进来，使经济社会发展的内容更加充实、更加全面。环保部基本接受我们的想法。最后形成了三种不同的试点方案，待试点后我们再进行总结，评估哪一种方案更适合在中国体制下进行多规合一改革。

“多规合一”改革过程中，遇到的障碍有哪些?在空间方面的内容，首先有技术标准和空间尺度方面的差异。国土资源部有一套尺度标准，住建部有城乡规划的一套标准，在规划空间分区时造成差异和难题。所以“多规合一”，至少在技术标准、空间尺度划分上要统一。

还有些障碍是制度上的。比如，我们的经济社会发展规划一般是以五年为主，或展望十年，规划期和城市规划、国土规划等空间性规划不一样。既然规划期不一样，要把它合在一起就有难度。经济社会发展的很多规划内容期限不能太长，太长了说不准。但是空间的规定和约束可以管很多年，一旦约束之后不会轻易变。我的看法是，经济社会发展规划以五年为主，但是涉及到空间的内容可以更长期。

还有一个难题就是审批的主体不一样。市、县经济发展规划是由同一级人大审批，但城镇规划或者是土地规划由上一级政府审批。比如，县的土地规划，是上级市甚至有的是由省政府来审批。“多规合一”后，规划到底应该由谁来审批？是同级人大、政府审批，还是上一级政府审批更好呢？这些问题属于推进多规合一试点需要面对的技术和制度问题，有些需要对现行法律进行修改。虽然有难度，但还是值得去做。把一个县零零散散的各种规划，按“多规合一”合成一个规划，用习总书记的话说就是一张蓝图干到底，可以要降低规划资源和成本。现在有很多县编规划花费了几千万，最后规划的效率并不高，浪费很大。

“多规合一”不光节省规划经费，还可以对市、县改革机构起到推动作用。“多规合一”后，县一级就不一定要设发改局、规划局和国土局，这些部门都可以合成一个部门，实行真正的大部制。我觉得基层政府管理的领域没有那么复杂，不需要那么多部门。“多规合一”对下一步基层政府行政机构改革是有牵引作用，因此值得去尝试。

以上是我们对过去工作形成的体会和想法，不成熟也不一定对，供大家参考批判。

谢谢大家。